UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2579th MEETING: 10 MAY 1985

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2579)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2579th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 10 May 1985, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand)

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2579)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2577th and 2578th meetings*], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albán-Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Nowak (Poland), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Ott (German, Democratic Republic), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/17172, which contains the text of a draft resolution presented by Nicaragua.

4. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents also: S/17169, letter dated 9 May 1985 from the representative of Uruguay to the President of the Security Council; S/17170, letter dated 9 May from the representative of Democratic Yemen to the Secretary-General; S/17171, letter dated 9 May from the representative of Suriname to the President of the Security Council; and S/17174, letter dated 9 May from the representative of El Salvador to the Secretary-General.

5. The first speaker is the representative of Burkina Faso, and I now call on him.

6. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) *(interpretation from French):* The delegation of Burkina Faso would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. We are convinced that, thanks to your far-sightedness and your qualities as a seasoned diplomat, the Security Council will be able to fulfil its mandate successfully. I wish also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for the excellent

work he accomplished during the month of April. We undoubtedly owe the success of our work to his wisdom and tact, and particularly his profound knowledge of international problems.

7. Nearly a year has elapsed since the Security Council met to discuss the very disquieting situation in Central America. Those meetings [*2525th to 2529th meetings*] followed the mining of the ports and territorial waters of Nicaragua, a brother country with which we share the same ideals within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

8. The very instructive and constructive debate that took place at that time gave reason for hope that the Security Council would be able to make a positive contribution to the search for a peaceful, negotiated political solution to the problems that beset that sub-region. We know what the result of that was: hope vanished because a veto was cast.

9. It was therefore clear that a great deal remained to be done in order to reduce tension and to persuade the parties involved to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the settlement of disputes. My delegation welcomes the efforts that have been undertaken in that direction by the Contadora Group, to which my country gives unswerving support. We also welcome the reasonable and open-minded attitude which the Government of Nicaragua has evinced throughout the process.

10. It is not our intention to rehearse to the Council the background to the present situation in Latin America. The reasons for the situation have been identified by the representative of Peru in his statement [*2578th meeting*] and are still fresh in our memories.

11. The development of the situation in Central America, which has recently been marked by coercive economic measures unexpectedly adopted by the Government of the United States against Nicaragua leads us to wonder what is going to happen to all these efforts. Those serious measures, which include a total embargo on trade and air and sea communications between the two countries, will undoubtedly be a heavy burden for Nicaragua. Far from contributing to a peaceful solution of the problem, this unilateral decision, apart from violating the principles enunciated in the Charter, has further aggravated the situation and threatened the already precarious peace and security in the region.

12. Faithful to the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Burkina Faso condemns any form of outside interference or intervention, whatever its source. Our position on the situation in Central America is in keeping with that of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983.

13. More recently, during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the ministers and heads of delegations of non-aligned countries adopted a communiqué [*S/16773, annex*] in which they reiterated their firm condemnation of the use of economic measures as a means of exerting political and economic pressure against States, in violation of their sovereign rights and decisions.

14. The wisdom of many of the authors of the Charter never ceases to astonish us.

15. A great many reasons have been given to justify the United States embargo against Nicaragua and the coercive economic measures that accompany it. My delegation believes that, as the saying goes, he who wishes to drown his dog accuses it of having rabies. In the name of what kind of democracy does one speak and act thus? Is it that "democracy" in which 25 million blacks bend beneath the yoke of *apartheid* imposed by the racist régime in Pretoria and declare to the world their hunger for justice, freedom and independence? Or is it that other "democracy" which the iniquitous Somoza régime imposed on the valiant people of Nicaragua for so many years?

16. The Security Council must denounce and combat not only the act that has brought us together today, but also and above all the tacit complicity of all those Powers which are no longer restrained by any kind of morality and sacrifice everybody to satisfy their thirst for conquest and world domination. In doing so, the Security Council will, we are quite convinced, protect mankind from this double standard of justice, which means that, depending upon whether one is powerful or weak, the court judges one to be right or wrong.

17. For us the solution to the problem of Central America lies not in a trial of strength but in negotiation. No coercive measure can overcome the will and the determination of a people to be fully responsible for its destiny. That is why, in its resolution 38/10, of 11 November 1983, the General Assembly unequivocally reaffirmed the inalienable right of all the peoples of Central America to live in peace and to decide their own future, free from all outside interference or intervention. That is also why, in its resolution 39/4, of 26 October 1984, it expressed its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group and urged all interested States to co-operate fully with the Group through a frank and constructive dialogue, in the conviction that that is the best possible way to bring about a just and lasting solution to their differences.

18. In his statement of 8 May [*2577th meeting*] the representative of Nicaragua informed the Security Council of the situation which his country is now facing. He reaffirmed the willingness of his Government to pursue its efforts to resume the dialogue with the Government of the United States, which we hope will show the same readiness.

19. The Security Council must do everything possible to encourage all parties to take that course.

20. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

21. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): Let me begin, Sir, by offering you the sincere felicitations of the Ethiopian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May and extend to you my best wishes for a successful term. May I also extend the admiration of my delegation to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the able manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

22. My delegation listened with great attention to the statement made by the representative of Nicaragua on the afternoon of 8 May regarding the situation in Central America and the serious developments arising out of the embargo which the United States recently imposed against Nicaragua. Having also listened with equal attention to all the speakers yesterday afternoon [*2578th meeting*], my delegation is of the view that the matter before the Council is one of grave concern not only to the parties to the issue, but to the international community as a whole. What is at stake is the challenge posed to the cardinal precepts of the Charter and the very norms governing inter-State relations. The decision of the Council in the matter, therefore, will indicate whether the world is headed for the continued supremacy of the rule of law or a dark age of brute force wherein chaos reigns.

23. The international community is painfully aware that ever since the downfall of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua the valiant people of that country have been faced with critical challenges to their inalienable right to choose the form of government under which they want to live. External interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua with the aim of destabilizing and eventually overthrowing the popularly elected Government of that country have become the order of the day. To this end, Nicaraguan ports have been blockaded and mined, while mercenaries have been organized, trained, financed, equipped and infiltrated into Nicaragua to murder innocent people and destroy the economic and social infrastructure. Furthermore, a sophisticated form of pressure and intimidation is pursued through the never-ending military manoeuvres by the United States very close to the Nicaraguan border, thus creating an ever-present threat of direct invasion. It is in the context of those continuing attempts to reverse the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, a small non-aligned developing nation, that the recent decision of the United States Government declaring a trade and economic embargo against Nicaragua must be considered.

24. That action of the United States Administration is, first and foremost, in violation of bilateral agreements between the United States and Nicaragua, particularly the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, which is still in force. It is also contrary to article 32 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States contained in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) and to the principles and rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, particularly paragraph 7 (iii) of the Ministerial Declaration adopted on 29 November 1982 by the contracting parties to the General Agreement. It tramples underfoot General Assembly resolution 39/210, entitled "Economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion against developing countries", which, *inter alia*, called upon developed countries to

> "refrain from threatening or applying trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions, incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations ... against developing countries as a form of political and social development".

25. As is well known, Nicaragua is a non-aligned developing country whose fragile economy continues to suffer from the consequences of natural disasters and a war imposed upon it by external Powers. To help mitigate the effects of those natural and man-made disasters and to assist the Government of Nicaragua in its reconstruction efforts, the General Assembly adopted resolution 39/204, in which it urged all Governments to contribute to the reconstruction and development of Nicaragua. That resolution particularly recommended that "Nicaragua should continue to receive treatment appropriate to the special needs of the country until the economic situation returns to normal".

26. In view of that, it is inconceivable to my delegation that such a small developing country could pose a threat to any of its neighbours, let alone to a super-Power. It is indisputable, on the other hand, that the trade and economic embargo declared by the United States totally negates the letter and spirit of that resolution. We therefore deplore the trade embargo imposed by the United States against Nicaragua.

27. The issue before the Council is crystal-clear. Cardinal principles of the Charter and of international law are being systematically violated. The motive behind those violations is also equally clear: it is to nullify the sovereign decision of the people of Nicaragua and overthrow their elected Government. No amount of obfuscation can hide that truth. Indeed, it was the clarity of the issues under discussion and their significance in the relations between States at large that prompted the States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to take the position spelt out in the communiqué of the Movement's Co-ordinating Bureau released on 7 May 1985 [*S/17163, annex*].

28. The question that remains to be answered is whether the Security Council will rise to the challenge or remain impotent in the face of such unwarranted acts of interference and coercion against a small State Member of the United Nations. It is the hope of my delegation that the Council will act with courage and resolve

commensurate with the crisis, with a view to redeeming its own credibility, which will enable it to continue serving effectively the interests of peace and security in the contemporary international system, whose very fabric is being threatened by creeping anarchy.

29. Nicaragua has demonstrated its good faith to the international community beyond any doubt by accepting without reservations the Contadora Act, and it continues to co-operate closely with the Contadora Group, which persistently seeks the establishment of a framework of peace and co-operation between the nations of Central America. Hoping for a peaceful solution to outstanding problems between itself and the United States, Nicaragua participated in bilateral talks at Manzanillo, Mexico, until the talks were unilaterally discontinued by the United States. Nicaragua deserves the recognition and appreciation of the international community for those peaceful efforts on its part.

30. The Government and people of socialist Ethiopia note with admiration the determination of the Government and people of Nicaragua to protect the gains of their revolution and the territorial integrity of their motherland against the forces of domination, reaction and counter-revolution, and reaffirm once again their support for and fraternal solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in their struggle. We also congratulate the Government and people of Nicaragua on their perseverance in the pursuit of the peaceful resolution of disputes and their continued commitment to international legality. We are confident that those efforts by Nicaragua will be crowned by impressive victories.

31. The Government of Ethiopia is convinced that the Contadora process is the only path that will lead to peace, security and development in Central America, and it fully supports the efforts of the Contadora Group.

32. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for acceding so readily to my delegation's request to address the Council on this important item.

33. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

34. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I should like first to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May and to thank you and your colleagues on the Council for allowing us to participate in the debate. We are confident that under your most able guidance this body will discharge its responsibilities effectively and successfully. I should like to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, my delegation's appreciation of the excellent manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the month of April.

35. The situation in Central America and in Nicaragua in particular has been considered repeatedly by the Security Concil and General Assembly and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—by the latter as recently as 7 May at the meeting of its Co-ordinating Bureau in New York.

36. The Security Council, by its resolution 530 (1983), reaffirmed, *inter alia*, the right of Nicaragua and of all other countries of the area to live in peace and security free from outside interference. In that same resolution the Council commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and appealed to the interested States to co-operate fully with that Group so as to resolve their differences.

37. Moreover, the General Assembly in resolution 38/10 of 11 November 1983 reaffirmed, *inter alia*, the right of all the countries in the Central American region to live in peace and to decide their own future free from all outside interference or intervention. It affirmed that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region was essential for ensuring the security and peaceful coexistence of the countries of Central America, and at the same time it expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

38. We regret to note that, despite such resolutions, decisions and declarations which reflect the overwhelming wish of the international community, the situation in the region is deteriorating. The fact that the Government of Nicaragua has felt it necessary to bring the matter before the Security Council many times during the past two years is deeply disturbing and evidences the degree of gravity which Nicaragua attributes to such negative developments. The representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, explained the extent of the new hostile economic measures and acts of subversion launched against his country. We fully comprehend the seriousness of the situation and, in a non-aligned spirit of solidarity, share Nicaragua's grave concern.

39. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus has persistently and consistently advocated and abided by the principle that bilateral, regional and international problems must be solved peacefully, by negotiation, not by recourse to the threat or use of force, and that the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of all countries must be fully respected. Thus, in his address to the General Assembly on 3 October 1983 on the situation in Central America, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, said:

> "We follow with grave concern the events in Nicaragua and other countries in Central America and sincerely hope that efforts within and outside the United Nations, including those of the Contadora Group, will succeed. What is of paramount importance is that the right of all States in the region to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity be fully respected, as well as the sovereign right of the peoples of the region to choose freely their own political, economic and social systems without any foreign interference."[1]

40. Cyprus, a non-aligned country sharing common aspirations with many Latin American countries, unreservedly supports General Assembly resolution 39/4, on the peace efforts of the Contadora Group, and pays a tribute again to the efforts made by the four members of the Group to bring about a just and lasting solution to the problem of Central America based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. At the same time, we endorse the recent communiqué of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the situation in Crentral America [*S/17163, annex*], in which the Bureau "reiterated its firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, hostile acts and coercive economic measures against the people and Government of that country".

41. My delegation hopes that the Security Council, which is primarily entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, will exert every effort to achieve, finally, an immediate end to the hostilities in the region and to the threats directed against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua.

42. Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) *(interpretation from Russian):* First, I should like to welcome you, Sir, to the responsible post of President of the Security Council and wish you every success in your work. I also wish to express our thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, who so skilfully and tactfully discharged the duties of President of the Council last month.

43. At this time the fortieth anniversary of the historic victory over fascism and nazism is being widely commemorated, a victory that was achieved by the joint efforts of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to that victory. Together with other Soviet peoples, the Ukrainian people fought side by side with the Soviet Union in the flames of the Second World War. The victory indeed cost us dear. One out of every six inhabitants of the Ukraine laid down his life for the freedom and independence of his motherland and for the liberation of other peoples from the yoke of fascism.

44. Unfortunately, the main lesson of the Second World War—that States must strive for peace collectively, with respect for each other's sovereignty and independence—is being more and more frequently forgotten today by those who subordinate everything to their ambition for world hegemony.

45. A typical example is the situation prevailing in Central America. To serve its ambitions, Washington, in pursuing a policy of State terrorism and subversive activity against other States and peoples, has for many years now been aggravating the situation in that area and virtually waging an undeclared war against a small non-aligned country.

46. Once again the Security Council is called upon to consider an extremely serious situation which obtains in this part of the world as a result of further subversive action on the part of the United States. The imposition by Washington of trade and other sanctions against Nicaragua indicates once again that the United States is by no means anxious to seek a genuine settlement of Central American problems and is trying at all cost, and in defiance of generally recognized norms of international law, to force the Government and the people of Nicaragua to give up their independent path of development.

47. The latest actions of the United States Administration are a violation of the existing United States-Nicaragua Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States. These subversive activities run completely counter to a number of important documents approved by the General Assembly, such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281(XXIX)*] and the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], as well as all the universally recognized norms in established international practice.

48. As history has proved, a policy of economic diktat, blackmail and threats is fraught with very serious consequences which run counter to the interests and progress of mankind and involve a further deterioration of the international climate, in the final analysis constituting a threat to universal peace and security.

49. Recently we have been seeing that arbitrary and discriminatory sanctions are being used against the developing countries in order to cause them economic difficulties and thus to "punish" them for certain acts that are not to the liking of the imperialists. Whenever a developing country chooses the independent path of development and in the exercise of its sovereignty nationalizes the property of foreign monopolies, it may —in fact it does—become the victim of such economic sanctions. Measures of economic coercion are aimed at securing the invulnerability of foreign political and economic positions in particular countries and at preventing progressive social and economic reforms, thus maintaining those countries in a state of economic dependency.

50. Simply because the present Government of Nicaragua, which was elected by the people of that country, chose the democratic and independent path of development—a choice that dit not suit the United States—the United States has openly set itself the task of toppling the legal Government of Nicaragua. In choosing the means to achieve this end, the United States Administration did not shrink even from direct

intervention in the internal affairs of countries in that region or from the open threat of force or the policy of State terrorism. We have only to recall the mining of Nicaraguan ports by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents, the diversionary American assistance given by the CIA to terrorists and mercenary bands and other openly hostile actions of the United States against that country, which were referred to in the statement made by the representative of Nicaragua in the Security Council on 8 May [*2577th meeting*].

51. World public opinion is deeply concerned over the range and possible consequences of this policy in international economic relations as a whole, and in particular in Nicaragua, and demands its immediate cessation. The heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, rejected all forms of economic aggression, the use of threats in commerce, and all types of blockades and coercive measures or blackmail as a means of exerting political pressure against non-aligned and other developing countries. They reiterated the right of all States fully to exercise national sovereignty and to choose whatever social and economic systems they felt best served their own development goals.

52. The General Assembly, in resolution 39/210 appealed to countries to "refrain from threatening or applying trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions, incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations". The most recent hostile acts committed by the United States against Nicaragua quite clearly indicate why the United States voted against that resolution, which was supported by 116 States.

53. In their communiqué of 7 May this year, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries vigorously condemned the actions of the United States and emphasized that

> "these new acts of political and economic coercion, in addition to the military action, are to be seen in the context of a larger plan to destabilize and topple the Government of Nicaragua and that they further endanger peace and security in the region." [*See S/17163, annex.*]

54. It is extremely significant and suggestive that, at approximately the same time that Washington was proclaiming its measures aimed at aggravating the situation in and around Nicaragua and in Central America as a whole, in Managua a series of measures was also proclaimed which were directly aimed at creating a climate of peace and mutual trust in the area and which are a logical continuation of the peace-loving policies of the Government of Nicaragua, something which was also very cogently stated by the representative of Nicaragua in his statement. Unfortunately, Washington has turned down any constructive proposal put forward by the Nicaraguan Government. The latter was the first to support the efforts of the Contadora Group and the first to express its willingness to affix its signature to the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. The Government of Nicaragua has proclaimed a liberal amnesty for all those who cease their counter-revolutionary activity. It has consistently taken a constructive position at the Nicaragua-United States talks at Manzanillo, which were broken off by the United States, and favoured their resumption.

55. Such a constructive attitude on the part of Nicaragua is the only way in which Central American problems can be resolved—the path of negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of all parties with full respect for their sovereignty.

56. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic stands squarely behind Nicaragua's just struggle against imperialism's aggressive inroads and supports its inalienable right to free and democratic development. We vigorously condemn the United States escalation of intervention in Central America and its subversive activities against Nicaragua, and we believe that the Security Council should take steps that will lead to the cessation of these acts of aggression and subversion against that country.

57. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) *(interpretation from French):* I am sure you will readily understand my personal satisfaction, Sir, at seeing you presiding over the work of the Security Council because of the friendship that has existed between us for some time. I should also like to avail myself of the opportunity to say how much I value the political sense and exquisite courtesy to which we have all become accustomed. To our President for the month of April, Mr. Arias Stella, I should like on behalf of my delegation to pay him a sincere tribute and to express our thanks for the sure-handed, well-thought-out and responsible way in which he directed our work. We expected no less of a person who was kind enough to make available to us his political experience and humanistic qualities.

58. It has become a commonplace to say that in recent decades most Central American countries have had to suffer social, economic and political injustice and that the situation there becomes more and more precarious as long as it remains subject to the caprices of international circumstances. The judgements that we can make about the underlying reasons for that crisis differ according to our ideologies, our options, our systems of values and the solidarity we share with others. Nevertheless it is a real crisis and it has, unfortunately, become a virtually permanent feature and has lost none of its acuteness. In less than three years the Council has taken up the matter nine times, while the Contadora Group, despite all the demands and counterdemands, has been trying to get all the parties inside and outside the region to accept a political and contractual framework within which normalization and stabilization of relations among the states concerned would be achieved.

59. At first sight there should be no divergency among us since we all, whether here at the United Nations, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries or in the Contadora Group, base our beliefs on the same premises and the same tenets, which it is essential for us to respect if we want peace, understanding and co-operation, political and economic stability and security and coexistence to prevail in Central America. The fact that there is some imbalance between these various elements and that sometimes they are perceived according to national interests—and we witness accusations and couter-accusations, including the recent complaint by Nicaragua against the United States the Council is now considering—merely serves to illustrate this point.

60. The Council cannot overlook nor treat lightly the matter of trade and economic sanctions. The non-aligned countries have learned this to their cost whenever they have attempted to call for the application of such sanctions to the Pretoria régime, whose *apartheid* policy has, after all, been universally condemned and rejected.

61. If we are to abide strictly by the Charter and the solemn declarations and resolutions adopted by the United Nations, we wonder whether Nicaragua ought to be punished because it has decided its own future without any foreign interference under any pretext or in any context. Is it not true, according to the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, annexed to General Assembly resolution 36/103, that it is

> "The duty of a State, in the conduct of its international relations in the economic, social, technical and trade fields, to refrain from measures which would constitute interference or intervention in the internal or external affairs of another State, thus preventing it from determining freely its political, economic and social development"?

Who among us could seriously question the principle of international law which states that "no State may apply or encourage the use of economic, political or any other measures to constrain another State to subordinate the exercise of its sovereign rights and to obtain from it any kind of advantage whatsoever"?

62. It is therefore difficult to agree that the trade sanctions decreed by the United States against Nicaragua and the embargoes on air and sea traffic do not contravene these principles—some of which, we should recall, were solemnly reaffirmed at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization—and it is also difficult to agree that invoking the concept of national security is a sufficient argument to justify them. We deeply regret this step and believe that the Council cannot give its approval to the measures flowing therefrom.

63. The same considerations led the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on 7 May to adopt a communiqué [*S/17163, annex*] expressing our commitment to certain principles, our desire to preserve a just and coherent international legal and economic order, our solidarity with Nicaragua and our support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. Indeed, the vicissitudes of the Central American crisis confirm our belief that there can be only a political and negotiated solution if we wish to see the triumph of those principles and those commitments contained in the draft agreement submitted to the States concerned.

64. That is also why we support the draft resolution submitted by Nicaragua, for it contains the essential elements to which the Council has the right and the duty, in this particular case, to draw the attention of all parties concerned, that is: the necessity for respect for international law; the need for relations of friendship and co-operation among States, in accordance with the Charter; the pre-eminence of dialogue over direct or indirect confrontation; and, finally, the peaceful settlement of disputes.

65. If there is no desire to be mindful of these elements, we fear that the Contadora process is now blocked once and for all and that no other initiative can replace it. Nicaragua will therefore be quite right to come before the appropriate international bodies to seek the necessary arbitration, and we shall be constantly called upon to consider the matter until the crisis in Central America takes on such dimensions that it will be beyond our control and undoubtedly endanger regional and international peace and security.

66. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bolivia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

67. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mr. President, my delegation thanks you for having given us the opportunity to take part in this meeting to consider a matter that is of concern to my country, respectful as it is of international law and a staunch supporter of peace and collective security. I wish also to express our satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Council. At the same time I express our gratitude to the representative of Peru and his delegation for the skilful guidance of the deliberations of the Council last month.

68. First, I wish to read out the statement issued in La Paz on 8 May by the Government of Bolivia:

[*The speaker read the text contained in the annex to document S/17189.*]

69. The Government of Bolivia has on many occasions publicly demonstrated its concern about the Central American situation. For instance, at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Constitutional President, Hernán Siles Zuazo, said: "The grave crisis affecting the brother countries of Central America is a cause of deep concern for my Government. Tension, threats and escalating violence are all

factors in the conflict which is developing",[3] increasingly weakening the foundations of peace. The President added that the peoples of Central America had already suffered too much under totalitarian régimes to have to suffer the horrible scourge of war.

70. Furthermore, the Government of Bolivia has in many forums expressed its solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua in their efforts to carry out fully the process of their liberating revolution, which entails the establishment of a democratic, pluralistic system and of a mixed economy system, guaranteeing a more equitable distribution of income so that a new society may be built on the basis of genuine participation by the people.

71. My Government, for those reasons, has constantly supported the process undertaken by the Contadora Group; we believe that it is the only valid and still viable option, within the Latin American family, in the quest for real and specific solutions to the Central American conflict. The real meaning of Contadora is that it is a genuine reply of the region, without the participation or distortion entailed by interference by protagonists from outside the region.

72. Bolivia, which in 1952 underwent a profound social transformation achieved through the establishment of a model of a national liberating revolution, fully understands the present difficulties in Central America, difficulties which are the result of social tensions arising from the attempt to overcome injustice and backwardness through the building of a more just and equitable order.

73. The experience of the Bolivian revolution also has enabled us to realize that the establishment or strengthening of basic institutions takes a certain amount of time and requires the right atmosphere. It is worthwhile mentioning that during the early years of the Bolivian revolution there were certain sectors within and outside the country that rejected the revolution and conspired against it. At that time, they even tried to impose an economic blockade and to jeopardize the free transit of goods, taking advantage of the structural problems that Bolivia was experiencing because of its maritime isolation resulting from an unjust war of conquest. Today, 33 years after the epic event of April 1952, the revolutionary changes are irreversible; they are the basis of the new national State.

74. I must note that those who opposed the revolutionary changes in Bolivia—that is, the counter-revolutionaries—knocked on the doors of Governments of neighbouring countries and sought aid from them, including the United States. Fortunately, they were not heard, and here I must comment that in the case of the United States the wise and timely advice given by Mr. Milton Eisenhower, who recently died, was very important. He pointed out to the Administration in Washington that the deep social changes that were being experienced by Bolivia and that undoubtedly would take place subsequently in other Latin American countries were socio-economic changes that had to be understood in a broad historical context.

75. For the countries of the region, peace and collective security can be based only on the principles of inter-American and international law. The Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States and many other legal instruments enshrine the right of the peoples to self-determination, non-intervention in domestic affairs and respect for the territorial integrity and political and economic independence of States. I must specifically mention the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV); the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted by Assembly resolution 36/103; the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, adopted by Assembly resolution 37/10; and, finally, Assembly resolution 39/210, adopted at the last session. In all those resolutions and declarations the principles of the coexistence of States are reaffirmed; some of them provide that States must abstain from the threat or the use of trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions that are incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and infringe bilateral commitments.

76. For those reasons, my Government deplores the decision of the United States Government to impose an economic and trade embargo against the Republic of Nicaragua. That action can only increase even more the suffering of the people of Nicaragua, the victim of the Somoza dictatorship, one of the worst and most shameful ever to have been seen in Latin America. We also urge the United States and Nicaragua to resume dialogue and negotiation in the context of international law and, in particular, the legal norms that have been created and perfected in Latin American law.

77. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) *(interpretation from Russian)*: I sincerely congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May and wish you every success in the performance of your duties. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for all he did as President of the Security Council last month.

79. The steps recently taken by the United States Administration against the Republic of Nicaragua, in particular the comprehensive trade embargo and the cessation of air and sea communications between the two countries, have rightly been judged by international public opinion to be crude acts of coercion and

blackmail that are at variance with the norms of the international legal and economic orders.

80. It is no secret that from the first days of the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua the United States has been taking various steps to destabilize the situation in that country and to overthrow its legitimate Government. To that end it has been carrying out increased financing and training of Somozist bands, supplying them with the most modern types of weapons and directing criminal subversive and terrorist activities against Nicaragua and its peaceful population. Recently that Administration has been stepping up its hostile and aggressive acts against the Republic of Nicaragua. It has been escalating its military presence in Central America and expanding its intervention in the affairs of the countries of that area. All this has seriously undermined the efforts of the world community and the Contadora Group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Central American problem and created a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua and to peace and security in the region.

81. The measures of economic pressure adopted by the United States therefore represent a further dangerous escalation of its interventionist policies against Nicaragua. Judging by what we learn from the United States press, these measures are only the beginning of an even more far-reaching aggressive plan on the part of Washington.

82. This situation has caused serious alarm in the international community. As the Council is aware, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement adopted a short time ago a communiqué [*S/17163, annex*] vigorously condemning the steps taken recently by Washington and its aggressive policy towards Nicaragua.

83. The Mongolian People's Republic, in keeping with its policy in favour of peace, totally rejects any policy of diktat directed against sovereign, independent States. The unilateral imposition by the United States of an embargo on trade and economic relations is a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the fundamental principles and norms of international law and specific obligations undertaken by the United States both bilaterally and multilaterally.

84. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the position of the Government of Nicaragua as set forth in the statement made by Mr. Chamorro Mora in the Security Council on Wednesday [*2577th meeting*]. We believe that the Council should vigorously condemn the illegal acts of the United States and demand the immediate ending of all aggressive acts by the United States against a sovereign and independent State Member of this Organization, the Republic of Nicaragua. At the same time, the Council should do everything possible to encourage the efforts being made by the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the Central American region and to establish lasting peace in that part of the world.

85. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the Government and people of friendly Nicaragua. This policy was reiterated in the declaration made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on 22 April, which was recently issued in an official General Assembly document, A/40/269. It states, *inter alia*:

> "If the United States is really interested in establishing peace in Central America, it should first refrain from attempts to strangle the Sandinist people's revolution, cease its policy of State terrorism against Nicaragua and resume the talks with that country which it broke off.
>
> "The Mongolian People's Republic fully and whole-heartedly supports both the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people, who are defending their freedom, independence and revolutionary achievements from the encroachments of imperialism and reaction, and the peace initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Central America.
>
> "The Mongolian People's Republic firmly demands that the United States Administration should stop its criminal activities, which amount in effect to an undeclared war against the Republic of Nicaragua."

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. I, 15th meeting, para. 38.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. III, 84th meeting, para. 31.

كيفيه الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع انحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبه التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الامم المتحدة ،قسم البيع في نيويورك او في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店查询或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a : Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in United Nations, New York 00300 90-61439—March 1992—2,050